

The Servant of India

EDITOR: P. KODANDA RAO. OFFICIATING EDITOR: S. G. VAZE.

OFFICE: SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XV No. 4

POONA—THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 1932.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

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Topics of the Week.

Ordinance Rule.

THE power enjoyed by Government under the ordinances of controlling the movements of persons it has reason to suspect of being in sympathy with the Congress has been used in U. P. for making an American missionary, Mr. G. B. Halstead, whose educational work in Lucknow was widely appreciated, leave India at once. His offence, from all accounts, consisted in his public condemnation of the Government's repressive policy and his appeal to his colleagues to follow his example. Then, Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Bengal leader, who returned to India last week from Europe, was placed under arrest under the notorious Bengal regulation even before he had time to land, while restraints have been placed upon the movements of his wife under the Emergency Powers Ordinance. Following Mrs. Gandhi's incarceration to which reference was made last week her youngest son, Ramdas, was recently sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

The attempt of a large number of commercial bodies in Bombay to express their resentment at Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and to appeal to the people to go in for indigenous goods was frustrated by the Police Commissioner who prohibited the contemplated meeting. His action has been greatly resented by the mercantile community in Bombay

which passed at a smaller meeting the resolutions intended to be passed at the public meeting. Serious doubts are entertained as to the legality of the Police Commissioner's action in banning a meeting not intended to promote the civil disobedience movement and a law suit to test its legality seems to be thought of. It transpires however that the legal opinion consulted by the Bombay merchants is by no means unanimous in holding that the Police Commissioner exceeded his powers in the action he took.

In their efforts to treat Congress workers as enemies of Government to whom no quarter was to be given and to induce the people to regard them as such, overzealous local officials are issuing orders which clearly transgress all humane considerations. In Bombay e. g. some restaurant-keepers were warned last week against giving food to Congressmen even on payment and in the Madras presidency a magistrate has thought fit to issue a general order prohibiting provision dealers from giving provisions to them within a radius of seven miles from his headquarters. We wonder if these dignitaries have simultaneously laid down an unerring test which would enable those so forbidden to have any dealings with Congressmen to tell a Congressman from a non-Congressman. In the absence of such a test the food and provision vendors concerned, even with the best will in the world, are sure to find themselves unable to co-operate with the authorities.

Do the ordinances empower the executive to put a stop to purely economic movements like swadeshi? Legal opinion seems to be sharply divided on the point, and subordinate officials follow the safe rule of bureaucratic conduct of pronouncing all activities as to the legality of which they happen to entertain the slightest doubt illegal. The action of the Madras Government, in regard to the Coimbatore Khadi Bhandar, however, would seem to show that such activities do not come under the official ban. The "Congress office", where the Bhandar carried on its business, was originally notified to be an unlawful place by the Madras Government which have since cancelled the notification. They seem to have now discovered the fact of the Khadi Bhandar having nothing to do with the Congress but being established under the auspices of the All-India Spinners' Association, "an altogether non-political body", in the words of the *Hindu*. The inference from this action on the part of the Madras Government is legitimate that the

prohibition of economic swadeshi is not contemplated even at the present time, as is feared in some quarters. An authoritative declaration to that effect by the Central Government will be highly appreciated by those engaged in that very useful activity, and would go far to ease minds rendered unhappy by the fear that even pure swadeshi is officially looked down upon.

* * *

Export of Gold.

WE cannot, we are afraid, show much concern at the continued export of gold from India which has alarmed so many Indian publicists. The export of gold is, no doubt, an unusual phenomenon. We are normally heavy importers of gold and it is clearly a sign of the magnitude of the agricultural depression that these imports should be replaced by exports. Gold is the main form in which the savings of the majority of our people are held and it is but natural that in these times of stress there should be a general movement towards realising these savings in terms of cash. Indeed we cannot see what the use of investments in gold can be if they are not to be liquidated in times like the present. Fortunately for gold-holders the prices ruling in the market to-day are specially favourable and the sale of gold on a large scale is thus to be naturally expected. Whether gold prices may rise still further or not is at this stage an unimportant question from the point of view of the average seller of gold. For, nobody who is in the depressed condition in which the Indian agriculturist finds himself can afford to wait on a rise. It is plainly economic distress that has driven our people to part with their gold—a fact generally acknowledged by the journalistic phrase "distress gold"—and it seems to us futile to advise them to cling to their gold savings when admittedly they are at the end of their current resources. The question as to whether this distress gold should be shipped abroad stands somewhat apart. Yet here again two points may be noted. First, the favourable price of gold to be obtained is due to the existence of a free market for gold and if an embargo is to be laid on exports a considerable decline in this price may be naturally expected. And second, the export of gold from India is entirely an export of private gold. In most countries where an embargo on exports has been laid it has been because a free market was held to endanger the monetary reserves of gold. This is not so in India. The amount of gold in private hands is phenomenally large in India and there is no reason to suppose that the exports of the last few months have diminished them to a dangerous extent. The future of the gold standard is yet very uncertain and we would not think that in these circumstances the Government would be well advised to take a step such as the levy of an embargo on exports in the supposed interests of a possible return to gold.

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Brutal Police Methods in Madras.

SINCE commenting in our last issue on the brutal nature of lathi charges in Madras, several influen-

tial citizens of the capital of the Southern presidency have issued an indignant protest "against the arbitrary, high-handed and, in many cases, brutal methods adopted by the police in the discharge of their duties now imposed upon them." The signatories to the protest describe themselves as non-Congressmen which lends additional force to their protest. In the course of their statement they say:—

While it is certainly the function of the Government to maintain law and order, we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that the indiscriminate use of lathis, and the turning of the water-hose containing coloured water, not only on picketers but on women workers whose object was to remove the wounded to a hospital, and even on innocent passers-by serve that purpose.

Hardly a day passes without instances of excessive and harsh use of authority on the part of the police being recorded in the press. Prominent amongst them are the death of a picketer at Tiruppur reported to be the result of beating by the Police, a lathi charge at the same place on a Congress volunteer whose sole crime appears to have been the wearing of a Khaddar cap, the removal of the Red Cross Flag from the Hospital opened for the treatment of volunteers at Madura, the interference by the Police with women workers carrying the wounded to the People's Hospital at Madras and the use of the lathi on volunteers even after they had been rendered unconscious. The public are being forced to the conclusion that the real object of the Government is to strike terror into the hearts of the people and thus paralyse even legitimate activities.

We feel bound in the existing circumstances to express, in clear and definite terms, our conviction that the Government are alienating public opinion and themselves creating an atmosphere unfavourable to any political settlement.

That these lathi charges are detested by the Mahomedans equally with the Hindus is clear from the Mahomedan deputation which waited upon the Home Member in order to express the feeling of resentment at these lathi charges.

* * *

A Princely Facade.

THE *Week* in the course of its remarks on Federation last week thus draws public attention once again to what is certainly the gravest defect of the federal scheme. It says:—

If Indian princes are always at the beck and call of the Paramount Power and if they are going to have a decisive voice in the federal legislature, what in heaven's name is this Swaraj they are going to give us? The old official block was at least a small minority; but the new block, comprising at least 40 per cent. of the Upper and one-third of the Lower Chamber, will undoubtedly hold the balance of power. The British will thus still rule us. Only they will hold the power without the responsibility. No wonder that the British politicians and money-lenders have so eagerly welcomed this federal vision. No wonder that they have made the grant of central responsibility depend on federalism. The whole thing is a fine piece of camouflage. The only question is whether our Saprus are cheats or dupes.

It is hardly any use blaming British politicians and money-lenders for the domination of the princes in the future federation, when Indian politicians and merchants accept such a scheme without demur. And it is not mere Saprus, whether they be cheats or dupes, who accept the scheme, but also the Mahatma. In fact the Saprus were better in this respect: they at any rate begged the princes to consider the possibility of introducing elective representation. The Mahatma carefully avoided the very word "election." Where would the *Week* place him, we wonder?

* * *

A WORD TO THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.

MR. CHINTAMANI has lent the great weight of his support to the suggestion put forward by Dr. Shafa'at Ahmed Khan and Sir Parashuram Patro for laying aside for some time the federal scheme partially formulated in London and for pressing forward instead with British Indian reform alone. None of these prominent politicians is opposed to federation; on the contrary all of them are keenly alive to its advantages. Their plea for postponement is solely due to a realization that federation cannot be brought into being quickly enough to allay the spirit of grave discontent prevalent in the country. The civil disobedience movement, though being suppressed in its outward manifestations, must not be supposed to be dead or dying; it may in fact be the deadlier in its effects because it is being driven underground. The only possible remedy is a speedy enactment of liberal constitutional reforms. Mr. Chintamani and the two other leaders think that if the reform scheme be confined to British India the enactment would be easier of accomplishment than if negotiations have to be entered upon with the Indian States and adjustments with each of them attempted. They therefore suggest that though federation is desirable and must not be given up altogether or even postponed for a long time, it should for the moment be put on one side till quiet is restored in British India. They are confident that if the reforms measure is large enough, British India will soon return to normal conditions and then the time will be at hand for negotiations to be resumed with the States with a view to federation.

It is not for me to judge whether the reasons given above afford sufficient justification for postponement of the federal scheme. But there are others which appear to me to make it imperative. Even if federation could be hastily improvised, it ought not to be. British Indian reform may however be improvised with impunity, or at any rate without any irreparable injury. When a large number of politicians with a powerful popular appeal are behind the bars of prison, we must ever keep their views before our mind's eye in framing a constitution, because it is no use its being acceptable only to those who frame it; it must be acceptable to public opinion at large. If the constitution refers to British India alone, any changes that may be required in it so as to make it acceptable to Congressmen who are not at present in a position to represent their views can be effected with comparative ease. If it is a self-evolving constitution, we ourselves can introduce the necessary changes in it without reference to the British Parliament. If it is not a self-evolving constitution, we shall have to take recourse to Parliament; but we shall have to go to no other authority. If, however, the constitution we frame is a federal one, comprehending the Indian States in its scope, we cannot alter it either ourselves or through the British Parliament alone, but we shall have to carry the States with us in any alterations we may desire. Any constitution that we make in the present circumstances, when we

are deprived of the co-operation of the most influential political party in the country, must be such as can be easily amended. A federal constitution is extremely difficult to amend; and when the number of federating units goes into hundreds, it becomes almost unamendable. I am not of those who say that constitution-making must be given up when so many of our leaders are in gaol; it must on the contrary be proceeded with more quickly in order to ameliorate the disturbed conditions in the country. But, with proper humility, let us refrain from framing a cast-iron constitution.

It may be said that, though unfortunately Congress help is not now available in moulding the federal constitution, we know broadly what their ideas are: they are on record and we shall make full use of them. The Congress representative, though he objected to the Sankey scheme as a whole, objected hardly to any feature of it which concerned the States. His objection almost invariably was in respect of that part of the scheme which concerned the British Government. That being so, a federal constitution is no more open to objection from this point of view than a unitary constitution. What would strike a body like the Congress as the most serious defects in the federal constitution as evolved in London would undoubtedly be the non-elective character of the States' representation and the very limited scope of the federal power. In respect of both these matters, however, Mahatma Gandhi had nothing to quarrel with in the federal scheme. What then can there be in a federal constitution (if one is framed now) so far as it relates to the Princes, to which either Gandhiji or any other Congressman will demur? Why not therefore push on with the federal scheme while there is a chance to do so, instead of narrowing our immediate aim at the eleventh hour? Who knows whether we shall be able to catch the Princes in an equally sweet temper next year or the year after?

This is by no means a convincing reply. It is true that Mahatma Gandhi did not take exception to the Princes' nomination of the States' representatives, or to the limiting of the federal scope to subjects that have already passed out of the States' control, or to any other part of the scheme concerning the States. It may also be true, though of this one cannot be certain, that the Congress as a whole would have agreed to federation on these terms because they were acceptable to its acknowledged leader. But this affords no guarantee that the Congress politicians will after the experiences which they are passing through just now will continue to hold the same opinions which they may be assumed to be holding at present. The Congress would in any case have had a difficulty in reconciling itself to the anti-democratic features of the constitution arising from its association with the Princes. It would have taxed the intellectual resources even of Mahatma Gandhi to square them with the position of an ultra-democrat and ultra-radical which

he took up at the R.T.C. But be that as it may, the temper of the Congress politicians, including Mahatma Gandhi, is likely to undergo a change after their present sufferings, and they will object to many things in which they were perhaps willing to acquiesce before. The nomination of the States' representatives will in all probability be the first of them. Can the members of the R.T.C. committees afford to put out of account this contingency? Will they be prepared to force upon the whole nation a constitution which not only is admittedly defective, and gravely defective, from the point of view of democracy, but which, just because it is a federal constitution, it will be next to impossible to amend in the desired direction?

If the process of future amendment be made easy, then the force of the objection emphasized above will be largely diminished. But is there a federal constitution in the world which is not rigid? And is it at all likely that the Princes will agree to a constitution which can be amended without obtaining the previous consent of all or at any rate four-fifths of the States which come in? The constitution would thus be to all intents and purposes unalterable. Not only will it be impossible to effect any radical changes in it, but it will be impossible to abrogate it either if found unworkable. A federation is an indissoluble union. That is the reason why the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament in respect of Burma made it plain that Burma might or might not join with India in the federation which was being formed there, but if she once elected to join she could not then come out if at any subsequent period she wanted to. The warning which Mr. MacDonald gave to Burmese politicians is even more necessary at the present time in the case of those who will serve on the Consultative Committee of the R.T.C. in India. These must consider whether they should take it upon themselves to draft a constitution, which can neither be modified nor repealed, and which yet depends for its practical working upon the co-operation of politicians who are not only keeping aloof from their present deliberations but who it is at least probable will withhold their co-operation till amendments, barred out by the very nature of the constitution, are introduced into it.

It is no use saying that it is now too late to abandon the federal basis in favour of the unitary one. What is here suggested is not the abandonment of a federal constitution, but its mere postponement to a more propitious time. Let such reforms be introduced in British India as it is possible to do. If they are cast in a generous mould, the non-co-operating Congressmen may be persuaded to give up their present policy and offer their co-operation both in working the unitary constitution to be framed now and also in formulating the federal constitution of the future. That is our only hope. But no federal union, which is necessarily of an indissoluble and unalterable character, should be foisted upon India in the existing conditions of the country. It may be objected that no large reforms such as are here contemplated will ever be agreed to by British Conserva-

tive or Liberal parties, except on a federal basis. It is true that Lord Reading and Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Peel have made such a declaration. But which Indian politician has subscribed to it? Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer is among those who are most enthusiastic about federation; but he too deemed it necessary, after the publication of the Sankey Report, to protest against the statement contained in it to the effect that further constitutional advance was possible only on a federal basis. I would respectfully put it to him and to his colleagues on the Consultative Committee that the objection which might have appeared academic then must now be made plainly and emphatically and British Indian reform alone insisted upon for the present unless—

(i) conditions are agreed to by the Princes to which the Congress in its altered mood will not object; or

(ii) an amendment of the constitution in future in the direction of restricting the powers of the Princes is rendered possible without their express consent.

But no steps should now be taken which cannot be retraced in future and which the Congress may reasonably be expected to insist upon seeing retraced.

S. G. VAZE.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

H. E. LORD WILLINGDON'S address to the members of the Legislative Assembly on Monday last reaffirms the Government's determination to carry out the dual policy which is now in force, viz. to put down the civil disobedience movement with a high hand and to complete the preparations for the enactment of a wider constitution which were begun at the first R.T.C. No justification for the use of repression has been given in the speech which had not been given before. Our criticism of it therefore requires no modification in any particular. We can only repeat our comments when the same old arguments are advanced by Government. But in one direction our criticism gains in strength. The happenings of the past few weeks make it plain that the repressive policy, as it is enforced in practice, is not directed only to the prevention and suppression of civil disobedience activities. It also seems to be intended to produce—at any rate it is so operated as to produce—two more effects: to strike terror into the hearts of the civil resisters by the use of violence out of all proportion to the necessities of the particular case; and to force them into disobedience of orders by imposing upon them extremely irritating and humiliating conditions. The lathi charges in Madras, against which the prominent non-Congressmen in that city have issued such a weighty protest, are a good specimen of an indiscriminate and excessive use of force by the guardians of law and order. At any rate in such cases it is open to doubt just what amount of force would have been sufficient for the preservation of peace, and the matter can only be decided by a consideration of the circumstances of the moment which may be exaggerated or minimised according to the

bias of one's mind. But the orders of a humiliating nature stand on a different footing. Notices issued to men of standing in society to report themselves to the police once, twice or even thrice every day are certainly without any kind of justification. How do they help the authorities in keeping the civil disobedience movement under control? One can understand unlawful activities being prohibited or those engaged in carrying them on or pledged to carry them on placed under custody. But where is the sense in ordering civil resisters of position to go to the police Thana and report themselves? These orders can only have the effect of forcing people who would otherwise have kept aloof into practising civil disobedience. Sir Phiroze C. Sethna has publicly stated that assurances were given that orders like these which cannot check, but only feed, the civil disobedience movement will not be passed. Non-Congress parties must do their level best, in the very interest of law and order, to have all such orders immediately rescinded. There ought also to be a limit to the arrests made. No one who does not do anything serious to promote civil disobedience need suffer detention. If the mere holding of opinions is to be penalised, a very large part of the population will have to be put into gaol. At any rate such excesses in the exercise of authority as are now taking place ought to be put an end to at once. This is the minimum that is necessary for creating the sort of atmosphere in which alone reforms can be discussed, and it is particularly the duty of those who are taking part in the reforms discussions to exert their utmost pressure in this direction.

BHAVNAGAR IN 1929-30.

ONE outstanding fact about the administration of Bhavnagar State during 1929-30, the report for which is recently published, is that while we in India have been talking about prohibition all these years and are having no end of committees to examine its financial and other aspects, Bhavnagar has carried out that reform without any ostentation. And it does not appear from the report as if the effectuation of the reform has been followed by any of the evils of illicit distillation etc. on which ground the introduction of prohibition is officially resisted in British India. During the year under report, we are told, there was no revenue from customs duty on foreign liquor and only Rs. 75 were realised by way of a similar duty on toddy. The tendency to use cologne water as a substitute for liquor which made itself manifest in some cases was met by legislative prohibition of its import and sale in the State, the Medical department alone being authorised to sell it for bona fide medical use. But though liquor has been thus banned, the same cannot be said of opium and ganja which yielded nearly a lakh of rupees to the State as revenue. This however need not dilute our sense of satisfaction at the introduction of prohibition of liquor in the State.

We cannot speak in equally enthusiastic terms about the educational condition of the State. Not that

it is particularly backward. At the same time there is no reason why the pace of educational progress in the State should not have been quickened by the introduction of free and compulsory primary education. Financial considerations stand in the way of this much needed reform both in British India and an overwhelming majority of Indian States; but Bhavnagar fortunately does not suffer from this disability. Thanks to the skilful handling of its finances by the Minority administration under the guidance of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, not only does the State budget balance itself but it has been consistently yielding a surplus which for 1929-30 stood at about Rs 21 lakhs. There can be no better use for these surpluses than that they should be spent upon the spread of education among the people. During the year under report, the number of boys and girls reading in educational institutions in the State was a little over 30,000. This is all right, so far as it goes; but we cannot afford to forget the fact that the ideal to be aimed at is the universalisation of primary education. Looked at from this point of view, the State can hardly be said to have traversed even half the way to it, though the statistics given in the report try to convey a different impression. The population of the State, according to the 1931 census, is about 500,000 which at 15 per cent. yields 75,000 as the number of children to be brought to school, if the rising generation is not to be allowed to grow up in ignorance. In view of the nation-building value of education, it is obvious that the earlier it is made available to every boy and girl in the State, the better it will be for its future.

Another feature of the State administration that may be noted here is the liberal policy it pursues in relation to village panchayats. Even so their number is by no means considerable nor does there appear to be much prospect of its being increased. The idea however is that the panchayats, wherever they come to be formed, should be self-governing even to the extent of appointing their own village officers. This is doubtless an advance on the system of panchayats existing in any British Indian province. The fact that these officers owe their appointments to the panchayat instead of to some authority outside the village makes them feel that they are the "real servants" of the village "rendering better, more loyal and efficient service." Though a model panchayat constitution has been formed by the State, it is made sufficiently elastic to allow of variations rendered necessary in the light of local conditions. The policy of the State in this matter is so progressive that suitable villages may be even made fully responsible for the collection of revenue. These "can also punish contumacy to the extent of forfeiture of land and auction of a vacant building". Such villages can also build up a reserve "from the savings remaining after payment of the Durbar dues and the reserve will be available for any common use which may be decided upon by the panchayat". The panchayats in the state are also empowered to try petty civil and criminal cases. Advance along these lines in British India may help to put fresh life in the

panchayat movement in parts like the Bombay Presidency where it is at present very weak.

It is at the same time a mystery to us why in a State which is doing so much to foster the spirit of self-government in the villages, the number of municipalities should not exceed 10 and their constitution should be undemocratic. Out of these only the Bhavnagar municipality contains any elected element, while in the case of the others the selection of both officials and non-officials as members is left solely to their official presidents! Their constitution is thus thoroughly inconsistent with the democratic spirit of the time and we would suggest to the Durbar to tackle as early as it can the question of their complete liberalisation by placing the popular element in possession of full and real control over municipal affairs. This should also be followed by the democratisation of the Representative Assembly in a manner which will ensure to the people effective control over the State administration. The Assembly does not at present seem to command the consideration from the authorities that its importance deserves. During 1929-30, for instance, it could not meet even once owing to the absence of the ruler and the president of the Council of Administration in England. The young Maharaja should not think his duty towards his subjects ended when he has provided them with good and efficient administration which is perhaps already in existence in Bhavnagar. This is no doubt very necessary, but what is even still more so is that he must train them to govern themselves by giving them increasing and more effective opportunities of doing so than are available at present. It is to be hoped that no time will be lost in making a real beginning in this direction.

Reviews.

A DEFENCE OF HINDUISM.

THE HEART OF HINDUSTHAN. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1931. 18cm. 144p. Re. 1.

THIS is a very thoughtful and inspiring book. There are six essays from the pen of the great philosopher with an introductory life-sketch by Dr. J. K. Majumdar. Superficially considered, it would appear that there is lack of unity in the material presented in this small volume, as the six discourses are complete in themselves. But there is an underlying unity of purpose which links them together, for it seems to be the mission of this great thinker to interpret in terms of modern experience some of the noblest truths of Hinduism and relate them to kindred ideas in the other religions of the world, with a view to surmounting the artificial barriers that have separated men so long. He is eminently fitted for the task, for he writes not merely as a savant, but as one who, in his own life, has deeply experienced some of the things expressed here. This little book is timely as it answers an urgent necessity. We hope Prof. S. Radhakrishnan's discourses would go a long way to counteract the growing scepticism in this country. We are forced to admit that the statement which Mr. C. E. M. Joad made with reference to con-

ditions prevalent in the West is equally valid with regard to the general state of belief in this country. And so in listening to Prof. Radhakrishnan we seem to be "listening to a profoundly religious man expounding to a generation which has largely lost its religion a profoundly religious view of life." This decline of religion might perhaps be due, as Prof. Radhakrishnan points out, to the invasions of science which are "upsetting traditions and standards without having formulated any others to take their place," or perhaps to the spirit of revolt that is rapidly spreading in this country as elsewhere. Men have begun to question the validity of traditional ideas: religion has lost its hold, and there is a universal disgust for the dry formalism that has atrophied the springs of spiritual endeavour. Every tenet and time-honoured institution is thrown into the cauldron and India is in the throes of a new birth. "The present age of transition," as Prof. Radhakrishnan says, "is as full of interest as of anxiety". The anxiety is due to the fact that it is increasingly being realised that progress is impossible except through a violent rupture with the past. And to the thoughtful observer this state of public temper seems instinct with ominous consequences for the future. In the haste to pull down, much that is of value might irrecoverably be lost. The supreme need of the moment is to discover elements of value and in a spirit of reverence claim and take possession of our heritage.

Prof. Radhakrishnan is endowed with the proper vision; and with a zest that can only be born of deep conviction he stands forth as the heroic champion of Hinduism. His exposition of Dharma is very illuminating. Whether it is possible for all to agree with him or not, his defence of the caste system is worth careful consideration. He points out how it embodies the principle of "Division of Labour", and how it is determined by "the predominance of reason or emotion, or will". The caste system does not mark any inequalities for "All men are equal in that they are born of God". He refers to the principles of interdependence and unity involved in the ordering of the scheme of duties relating to the social order. The ethical discipline of Varnashram "is the Hindu's device for the gradual improvement of human nature". "The social fabric", he maintains, "is organised on the basis of spiritual perfection". He indignantly refutes the charge that social service was unknown to the Hindus and points out that much capital is "made out of the treatment of the untouchables". Any judgment that we come to with regard to Indian institutions must be based upon a comparative study in relation to conditions that exist elsewhere. Prof. Radhakrishnan draws attention to the fact that "free India rendered them much greater service than what other free countries even in recent times have done for their backward classes".

Prof. Radhakrishnan's exposition of the religious ideals of Hinduism is very lucid and serves to clear many misunderstandings created by the haphazard writings of modern critics who are not careful enough in the handling of their material. The pleasing thing about Prof. Radhakrishnan is that he writes in no spirit of the partisan or apologist, but as one who has a message to deliver, and is conscious of the sacredness of the task. Religion, as he profoundly observes, "is an expression of the spiritual experience of the race", and so there is nothing unnatural in that different peoples should have different religions. It would be mischievous "to attempt any sudden supplanting of existing beliefs by new ones". This does not mean that there is nothing to be learnt from other faiths. He is painfully alive to the dangers of erecting rigid barriers and high tariff walls. "Hindu

thought never developed a Monroe Doctrine in matters of culture". Prof. Radhakrishnan is free from the narrow bigotry that is usually found in missionary writers. He is not out to convert, and does not make any exclusive claims on behalf of Hinduism. He realises that all the "misunderstanding and antagonisms in religious matters arise when we put forward excessive claims on behalf of our own views of God". All religions are sacred to him for "the same fundamentals are found emphasised in all religions." Religion primarily implies freedom, and so beliefs should never be imposed.

There are many other interesting and valuable ideas scattered throughout the discourses of Prof. Radhakrishnan, to which we cannot refer here owing to considerations of space. We cannot, however, bring this review to a close without recording what our impression is as we go through his writings. The noblest feature about Prof. Radhakrishnan is his catholicity. This we notice not only in the variety of material he has handled, but in the very attitude of his mind. His temper is extremely healthy and we hope it would impart its own warmth to all who come under its influence.

PRATAPAGIRI RAMAMURTI.

THE TWELFTH IMAM.

THE MAHDI OF ALLAH. THE STORY OF THE DERVISH MOHAMMED AHMED. By RICHARD A. BERMAN. (Putnam, London.) 1931. 22cm. 317p. 16/-

ACCORDING to Moslem belief some blessed soul is to visit this world to complete the work of spreading the religion of the green banner. The people who remain "Kafir" would be made believers in the Quran and the Prophet. "Mahdi of Allah" will be the title of the person coming to revive the mission of the Prophet and he will be known as the twelfth Imam. Certain qualities would differentiate the Mahdi from the rest of the crowd and many shrewd men from various Islamic countries have tried to exploit this religious belief by proclaiming themselves as the expected Mahdi. But the one, whose biography the present volume before us is, was by far the greatest of all these pseudo-prophets of the Moslem faith. For, this very Mahdi had established an order of what may be termed "ultra-puritans" of Islam and had conquered with his puritan soldiers who were not allowed even to smoke "nearly a fourth of the area of Africa." *Jehad* or religious war was declared on all those who refused to believe in this Mahdi and to crown his adventures, he killed the English General Gordon sent against the group of rebels as the followers of the Mahdi were called. And yet the author of this book as also those associated with its English presentation (because they are all non-believers?) do not recognise the claim of the Dervish Mohammed Ahmed to the sublime title of Mahdi of Allah!

A young Dervish boy was driven out of his master's house for revolting openly against him. The master happened to be the chief of the "Sammaniya Tarika" amongst the Dervishes—a subject of the small sect. The pages of this book describe how this very boy rose to the highest place in Islam—next only to that occupied by the Prophet—and for a time established an order of rulers from amongst his followers. And all this by sheer force of his life of poverty and penance. Of course he knew how to handle the fanatical Muslims and he used his skill in exploiting their energies to achieve one ideal, viz., to be accepted by the world as the Mahdi of Allah. During his life-time he was quite successful—nay he made his followers believe that success

came to him unsought; because was it not the Prophet's mission that he was carrying out? They knew also that the achievements of the Mahdi were without any special exertion of his prowess with which, they believed, he was endowed ever since he was a child. Otherwise how could His Excellency C.G. Gordon be killed by the followers of the Mahdi?

Khartoum was the place where General Gordon had to face the Mahdi's armies. In fact it was the rebels who had marched towards Khartoum with a desire to capture it. The Mahdi was so sure of his success, so confident of his own Divine mission, that he had to the last minute tried to convert Gordon to Mahdism. "You should pity your own soul first" wrote the Mahdi to Gordon "and save it from the anger of its Creator and make it the follower of a true religion." Along with this ultimatum was presented to Gordon the full uniform of the Mahdi sect, the patched shirt, the turban and the belt. But unfortunately for Gordon the Mahdi was successful and Khartoum was in the hands of the Dervish's followers. Gordon was in the hands of the Mahdi, but not the living Gordon; his head was taken to the Dervish camp as a trophy of the successful capture of Khartoum. All this story of the success of the Mahdi has been told in a very forceful and attractive style by the author and the book makes interesting reading. It has rightly been called "A Drama of the Sudan" and every thing narrated in it is based on historical evidence. A list of books which form the main source of material that the author has so ably put together is given at the end of the book. The author has also added to his knowledge by touring the country where the Mahdi won glorious battles. He interviewed many people of eminence who could give contemporary information about the Divine hero whose life has been here presented to the world. The author deserves congratulations for having contributed a chapter on Sudan to modern history. Of British accounts of the conquest we have many; but unlike most of them, this is unbiassed, the author being a German, who has, it is evident from the book, taken special pains to paint the characters as faithfully as is humanly possible.

SHRIPAD R. TIKEKAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

A HANDBOOK OF PRACTICAL AND WRITTEN WORK IN ECONOMICS. by E. C. BHATTY. (The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.) 1930. 21cm. 165p.

THIS handbook by is an interesting attempt to get together the results of investigations carried on by young men in the Intermediate classes under the guidance of their teachers. As a preliminary means of interesting the young in the life about them the method followed is really welcome. But great care should be taken before claiming any serious value from a scientific standpoint for the results of such amateurish activities. Real economic studies require maturer minds and experience of human nature both of which cannot be found in the fresh men who enter the portals of our colleges or Universities.

Mr. Bhaty claims that the "practical work was intended to provide a background and a foundation for the right understanding of the theory." But it is difficult to find how far the investigations of the type suggested, carried on by young and inexperienced people, can provide any reasonable background. The reviewer has grave doubts about the utility of teaching Economics at the Intermediate stage and this doubt has been considerably confirmed by the performances of the candidates at the examinations. Mr. Thompson of

the Allahabad University who provides a foreword to the book is careful to add that this work can be useful if properly done. But that is exactly the most difficult point. The Punjab Board of Economic Inquiry had to appoint and train investigators to do similar work, and the idea of getting the young undergraduate to do field work seems to be a very ambitious and possibly a futile endeavour.

But when all is said, Mr. Bhatti must be congratulated on this booklet for he has shown in some degree that it is possible to interest the young student in the economic life of the people around him.

S. V. AYYAR.

RAJA-YOGA OR OCCULTISM. By H. P. BLAVATSKY. (Theosophy Company [India] Ltd., 51, Esplanade Road, Bombay.) 1931. 19 cm. 132p. Rs. 1.

This booklet is a collection of articles on 'True Occultism' written by H. P. Blavatsky. Raja-Yoga or Occultism is not magic, hypnotism, or any other black science, but a scientific process for the unfolding and realisation of self. This needs a rigorous discipline of both mind and body without which no progress is possible. This is an exhaustive and comparative study of occultism as prevalent in different Oriental and Western countries. The dialogues are very penetrating and instructive.

N. S. S.

Miscellaneous.

USE OF LATHIS BY THE POLICE.

MADRAS ADVOCATES' VIEW.

THE legality of the use of lathis and canes by the police is discussed in a reasoned statement issued by some of the leading Advocates of Madras. They say:

In view of the many inquiries which are being made about the legality of the use of lathis and canes by the Police in dispersing picketers and crowds in the city and elsewhere and in obedience to the reference made to us by the Council of the Madras Advocates' Association, we deemed it necessary to take counsel together, and we have resolved to issue the following concise statement:-

1. The Ordinances recently promulgated do not confer any new powers upon the Police in respect of the use of force for the dispersal of unlawful assemblies or assemblies of five or more persons likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace.

2. Section 128, Criminal Procedure Code, is the only provision for the use of force in the dispersal of assemblies.

The assemblies that can be dispersed under that section are:-

(a) unlawful assemblies, that is, assemblies of five or more persons whose common object is as stated in Section 141 I. P. Code.

(b) assemblies of five or more persons likely to cause disturbance of the public peace.

3. Before force is used to disperse the assembly, it must have refused to disperse on being commanded to disperse or without being so commanded it should have conducted itself in such a manner as to show a determination not to disperse.

4. An individual or an assembly of less than five persons cannot be dispersed by the use of force under Section 128, Criminal Procedure Code. Barring prevention under Section 149, Criminal Procedure Code, the members of such assembly can only be arrested for any offence of which they may be guilty.

5. An assembly of five or more persons carrying on picketing near a place of business has now become an unlawful assembly as such picketing is an offence under Ordinance V of 1932.

An assembly of picketers less than five cannot be dispersed by force under Section 128.

6. Persons present by accident or from curiosity alone without taking part in the proceedings are not guilty of the offence of being members of an unlawful assembly, or of an assembly liable to be dispersed.

7. Picketers less in number than five and a crowd of mere sightseers cannot be regarded as together constituting an unlawful assembly justifying the use of force.

8. More than five persons whose common object is picketing, if they distribute themselves so as not to form one assembly, cannot be dispersed by force either in the places in which they are picketing or after being driven together.

9. The degree of force which may be lawfully used in the dispersal of an assembly depends upon the nature of the assembly and the force must always be strictly moderated and proportioned to the circumstances of the case and to the end to be obtained, namely dispersal.

10. Even persons forming members of an unlawful assembly or an assembly commanded to disperse ought not to be pursued and belaboured with lathis if they are dispersing.

11. Even when there is an unlawful assembly, surrounding an offender and belabouring him or beating him after he falls down, with a cane or with a lathi by way of punishment, is beyond the power of the police.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

A MONEY MARKET PRIMER AND KEY TO THE EXCHANGES. By GEORGE CLARKE. (3rd Edn.) (Effingham Wilson, London.) 1931. 22cm. 287p. 6/-.

AN OUTLINE OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE. By Various Authors. Ed. by WILLIAM ROSS. (Victor Gollancz.) 1931. 22cm. 1103p. About 25/-.

A RESERVE BANK FOR INDIA AND THE MONEY MARKET. By B. E. DADACHANJI. (Butterworth & Co., Calcutta.) 1931. 22cm. 386p.

GROWTH OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN MODERN INDIA. By C. N. VAKIL, S. C. BOSE, AND P. V. DEOLALKAR. (Longmans, Bombay.) 1931. 22cm. 398p. Rs. 7/8.

THIS UNEMPLOYMENT: DISASTER OR OPPORTUNITY? By V. A. DEMANT. (Association Press, Calcutta and Student Christian Movement, London.) 1931. 21cm. 157p. 4/-.

DANTE. THE DIVINE COMEDY. ITS ESSENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE. By ARTHUR H. NORWAY. (Association Press, Calcutta and Student Christian Movement, London.) 1931. 21cm. 164p. 5/-.

THE MASTERY OF SEX THROUGH PSYCHOLOGY AND RELIGION. By LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD. (Association Press, Calcutta and Student Christian Movement, London.) 1931. 21cm. 253p. 5/-.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND (1760-1860). By ARTHUR REDFORD. (Longmans.) 1931. 20cm. 221p. 3/6.